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Canada
Royal Commission on the Status of
Women in Canada
1968



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5533 WOMEN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

A discussion of the status of women immigrants in Canada today in relation to (a) the pattern of Canadian immigration in the post-war period (b) the Canadian Immigration Act and Regulations (c) the position and standing of women immigrants in the community and (d) the services which are provided for them.

A report prepared for the
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1968

WOMEN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA.

We should look first at the nature of international migration and the pattern of Canadian immigration in the post-war period. The place of women in the post-war migration compared with earlier migrations has dramatically changed in relations to numbers and to occupations. Women now travel freely alone. They are seeking and experimenting with new economic opportunities and environments. They form a significant part of the brain drain. They are not only moving from one developed country to another, they are also leaving developing countries in increasing numbers. Armies of nurses, secretaries and other professional and skilled women are booking passages on airlines and, very frequently, working their way around the world.

International migration since the war has been characterized by the following features. First, this is an era of controlled migration, not "free-flow" migration, although it offers a special freedom and opportunity to the professional and skilled migrant. It is becoming increasingly difficult, however, for the unskilled to migrate outside the categories of dependent and other relatives. Since 1945, governments have interfered at both ends of migration movements. They have engaged in deliberate promotion campaigns in foreign countries and have played a much more deliberate role in refusing or promoting exit for their own citizens and residents. The needs of modern technological society now dictate

immigration requirements and immigration has become an essential element of manpower policy. The search for skill and talent, male and female, is world wide. A related factor in post-war migration is the ease of travel and communication and the extent to which information about the receiving countries is readily available. Migration is now much less a once and for all affair. Migrants are less committed and more transient. They come and go with greater ease.

As a result, the quality of migration has changed significantly. It now contains a substantial professional component; wider national and class representation; better educated immigrants and a more equal sex ratio. The brain drain has become a matter for international concern and Canada is deeply involved in it. It is not a universal phenomenon, but affects a fairly small number of developed and developing countries. We need much more information about it: few countries keep satisfactory statistics on migration. Although there are many advocates of the status quo who see considerable advantage in the present system, there are disturbing implications in the brain drain for the developing countries and for the increasing gap between them and the affluent world.

Among receiving countries, Canada has been the recipient of the second largest flow of professional and skilled manpower in the post-war period, but she has also suffered a

substantial loss to the United States. Many professional and skilled immigrants from Europe and Asia have rested temporarily in Canada on their way south - there is a very interesting stage by stage flow from the developing to the developed countries which frequently involves women. Between 1946 and 1967, 199,508 immigrants in the professional category emigrated to Canada. Together with the managerial and clerical categories, this group outnumbered every other. Within this group the percentage of immigrants from countries other than the United States rose from 7.2% in 1946, to 27.6% in 1963 and to 37% in 1967. This reflects one of the most disturbing features of the brain drain: the fact that it is increasing rapidly from the developing (and other) countries. The following table (Table I) shows the Canadian intake of professional and technical workers (male and female) from four major non-European sources: China, India, Pakistan and West Indies/Antilles, showing the rate of increase between 1955 and 1967.

CANADA

TABLE I¹

Admission of Professional and Technical Immigrants to Canada from China, India, Pakistan and West Indies/Antilles 1955-57

Note: Prior to 1962, India and Pakistan were listed together under the heading East Indies, and West Indies/Antilles was included under the heading Negro.

	CHINA	EAST INDIES	NEGRO	Total Intake of Professional Immigrants
1955	70	37	66	7,159
1956	27	59	80	9,343
1957	31	54	90	16,040
1958	29	65	111	7,553
1959	159	134	136	6,947
1960	109	184	160	7,436
1961	125	216	235	6,696

	CHINA	INDIA	PAKISTAN	WEST INDIES/ANTILLES	Total Intake
1962	37	171	19	389	8,218
1963	35	189	46	395	9,640
1964	85	298	84	390	11,965
1965	113	631	124	534	16,654
1966	--	--	--	--	--
1967	1,376	1,213	233	1,153	30,853

1. Immigration Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration.

2. In 1962, new Immigration Regulations were introduced, removing major discrimination against non-Europeans.

However, a further feature of post-war migration which is often overlooked is the great movement of relatives from Europe to North America and the Pacific mainly from the countries of Southern Europe. This has been very significant for Canada and has had a considerable influence on her management of immigration in the post-war period. More than a million of the three million immigrants who have come to Canada since the end of the Second World War have been sponsored, mainly by relatives in Canada. The majority of the sponsored immigrants have been unskilled. In this connection it is interesting to note the following comment from the 1966 White Paper on Canadian Immigration Policy.

The majority of the sponsored have been drawn from Southern Europe, primarily as the result of the influx of immigrants from the under-developed, rural parts of this region in the early post-war years, the strong family relationship in those areas, and the economic pressures to emigrate from them.¹

It is this movement which has contributed in such a striking way to the population of Toronto which increased by 44.9% between 1951 and 1961. The findings of a recent two year study of rural immigrants in Toronto sponsored by the International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto emphasized the urgent need of this large group of immigrants for special educational and information services and for much more

1. Government of Canada, White Paper, Canadian Immigration Policy, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, October, 1966, p.11.

assistance in the use of community resources.¹

Major racial discrimination in the selection and admission of immigrants was removed from Canadian immigration regulations in 1962 and (totally) in 1967. It was removed from American immigration laws by the Kennedy Immigration Act of 1965. It still remains as a major feature of Australian and New Zealand immigration policy, although Australia has moved recently to open the door a little wider to skilled non-European immigrants. This change has been very important for women with skills who wish to migrate from the developing to the developed countries where they feel they can secure better status and working conditions. For Canada and the United States, selection on the basis of skill is now the major emphasis of admission policy. One might say that there are two major emphases - skill and the reunion of families on a controlled basis.

One final point should be noted in relation to international migration in the post-war period, because it affects any study of migration or migrants in a national or international setting. This is the sheer lack of information about it. We simply do not know enough about the movement of people between one country and another or about the integration of migrants after arrival. Even in the United

1. Edith Ferguson, Newcomers in Transition, International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, 1964, p.82.

States where the literature is more extensive than anywhere else, the "melting pot" and other accepted concepts of immigrant integration have been shown in the last few years to be quite inadequate. In Canada we are at the very beginning of study and analysis of the problems of integration.

The Canadian Scene

The total movement of immigrants to Canada in the post-war period can be seen in the following table and chart (Chart I, Table II):-

CHART I

Immigration and Emigration 1950-1967

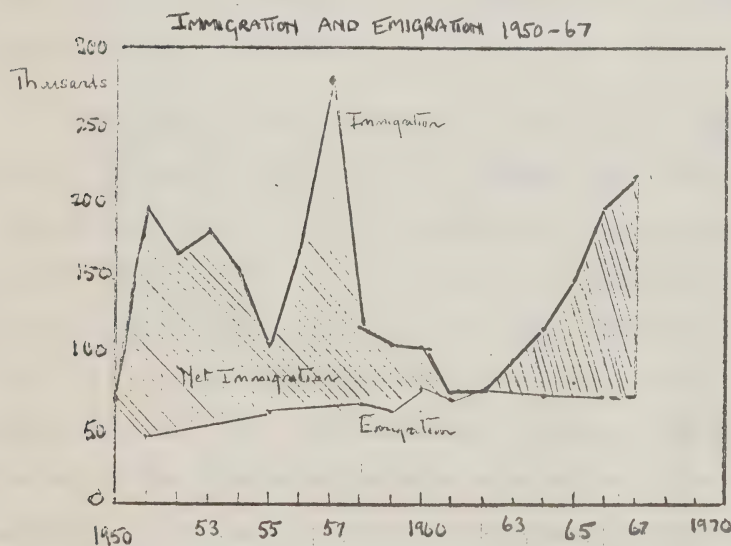


TABLE IIImmigration to Canada by Calendar Year, 1945 - 1967¹

1945.....22,722	<u>1957.....282,164</u>
1946.....71,719	1958.....124,851
1947.....64,127	1959.....106,928
1948.....125,414	1960.....104,111
1949.....95,217	1961.....71,689
1950.....73,912	1962.....74,586
<u>1951.....194,391</u>	1963.....93,151
<u>1952.....164,498</u>	1964.....112,606
<u>1953.....168,868</u>	1965.....146,758
1954.....154,227	<u>1966.....194,743</u>
1955.....109,946	<u>1967.....222,876</u>
<u>1956.....164,857</u>	

The striking fluctuations in the rate of intake illustrated in Chart I reflect, in a general way, the lack of forward planning and stable programming in Canadian immigration before 1963. But the high and low points also reflect the special circumstances of the time. Thus the high rates from 1951 to 1953 are the result of the more open Immigration Regulations of 1950, the admission of enemy aliens, the final stages of the Displaced Persons movement and the continued availability of large numbers of European immigrants. The

1. From the 1967 Immigration Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration. Years of high intake are underlined.

high rate in 1956 and the record intake of 282,000 immigrants in 1957 were the outcome of the Hungarian Revolution and Suez crisis. The sharp decline from 1958 onwards is a reflection of the marked downswing in the business cycle of that period, slower rates of growth in the United States and Canada and very high levels of unemployment, all contributing to a low key immigration program. The increasing intake from 1962 onwards reflects returning prosperity, the beginning of the "Great Expansion" described in the Fourth Annual Review of the Economic Council of Canada.¹

It must be remembered that until the new Immigration Regulations on 1967, Canadian immigration consisted of two broad categories of immigrants: unsponsored or "open placement" and sponsored. Open placement immigrants were selected. Sponsored immigrants were unselected and were sponsored by relatives in Canada who were in theory able to assist them in their initial settlement. For some time after the war, the sponsorship system was regarded as an excellent arrangement which protected the immigrant and facilitated his adjustment to Canadian life. This view has changed however - not in relation to close relatives but in relation to the sponsorship and automatic admission of a wide range of non-

1. Economic Council of Canada, Fourth Annual Review: The Canadian Economy from the 1960s to the 1970s, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, September 1967, p.12.

dependent relatives which has proved to have an element of explosive growth. It also creates a bias in the system in favour of the national groups which are already established in Canada and which have strong kinship ties. And in some countries it has tended to create such a large movement of immigrants that there has been little space or time for the unsponsored.

The new Immigration Regulations of 1967 were a new departure. For the purposes of admission, they created three categories of immigrants; independent applicants, sponsored dependents and nominated relatives. For the first time they spelled out the criteria which would govern the selection of immigrants. These criteria are the basis of a points system by which independent applicants and nominated relatives are assessed, and they include the following:

1. Education and Training
2. Personal Assessment
3. Occupational Demand
4. Occupational Skill
5. Age
6. Arranged Employment
7. Knowledge of French and English
8. Relative
9. Employment opportunities in area of destination.

Sponsored dependents are admitted to Canada automatically

provided they are in good health and are of good character. Independent applicants are assessed on the basis of all nine factors. But nominated relatives are assessed on the basis of the first five factors only, thus giving them a certain limited advantage over independent applicants. Slightly higher preference is given to an applicant nominated by a Canadian citizen than to one nominated by a Canadian resident. The most important factors which carry the largest number of points are the first three. The 1967 Regulations are applied universally. These Regulations now provide, for the first time, for applications for admission to be made in Canada by visitors and others.

Canadian immigration statistics give us only limited information about women immigrants as distinct from men. We know that the total intake of women immigrants of all age groups during the period 1946-67 was 1,400,941. We know the number of wives admitted annually. These are women who are not destined for the labour force, although they may well come into it later on. A total of 571,902 wives of immigrants have been admitted to Canada during the period 1946-67. We know the country of former residence, age group and sex of the immigrants who enter Canada in each calendar year. In order to show the wide variety of women who are now coming to Canada, the following table (Table III) shows the number of women immigrants aged 20 and over who entered in 1967 from a group of 28 countries.

TABLE III

Women Immigrants Aged 20 and Over Who Entered Canada
in 1967 from a Selected Group of 28 Countries

	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60-69	70 and over
Australia	1068	674	230	108	75	25	42	11	12
Brazil	33	44	40	26	23	13	8	12	2
Britain	7686	5474	3123	1766	905	621	804	67	299
China	532	600	309	220	172	133	286	123	67
Egypt	112	87	68	82	50	41	97	60	25
France	1015	704	434	342	140	86	81	51	21
W. Germany	1013	1184	539	248	125	65	114	100	52
Greece	1375	701	466	248	170	112	245	221	65
India	330	420	257	126	37	44	66	35	10
Israel	148	155	97	84	57	32	49	28	9
Italy	2115	1413	1024	821	674	453	829	578	277
Japan	70	127	80	42	15	4	3	6	10
Malta	85	27	18	10	5	8	11	7	1
Mexico	34	28	14	13	10	3	3	1	-
Morocco	40	35	30	8	18	11	22	10	3
Netherlands	457	367	210	118	51	32	33	16	8
Philippines	482	1086	446	117	34	9	13	3	2
Poland	196	131	86	74	91	61	60	51	14
S. Africa	129	138	66	42	28	20	22	18	4
Spain	115	97	87	40	15	8	18	15	3
Sweden	109	90	40	22	12	5	6	-	2
Switzerland	622	306	120	48	21	20	13	8	2
Turkey	36	34	26	15	14	10	20	11	2
U.S.A.	1871	1196	713	632	484	339	497	467	251
Jugoslavia	252	191	112	85	46	40	72	76	15
Africa	44	56	64	48	16	14	7	5	1
W. Indies/ Antilles	1287	1099	543	302	146	111	138	90	17

Table IV shows the major source countries for all immigrants for the period 1947-1967 and Table V shows the 1966 and 1967 total from the major source countries and for the continental areas where significant recent expansion has taken place.

Table IV Major Source Countries (for all immigrants) 1947-1967

Britain.....	827,567	France.....	82,877
Italy.....	409,414	Greece.....	80,216
Germany.....	289,258	Portugal.....	57,427
United States.....	244,280	Austria.....	54,511
The Netherlands.....	165,268	Hungary.....	52,734
Poland.....	102,376	China.....	46,765

Above 20,000

Belgium.....	38,757	Yugoslavia.....	27,815
W. Indies/Antilles...	35,800	Republic of Ireland.	27,482
Denmark.....	34,702	Switzerland.....	26,972
Australia.....	31,227		

Table V Major Source Countries 1966 and 1967

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Britain.....	63,291	62,420
Italy.....	31,625	30,055
United States.....	17,514	19,038
Germany.....	9,263	11,779
Greece.....	7,174	10,650
France.....	7,872	10,122
Portugal.....	7,930	9,500

<u>Table V continued</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
<u>Continental Areas</u>		
Asia.....	14,327	21,228
Central America & Caribbean....	4,359	9,005
Australasia.....	4,059	6,179
Africa.....	3,661	4,608

We also know the marital status of women immigrants, by age group, for each calendar year. Thus we know, for example that of the 8,153 women immigrants who entered Canada in 1967 in the age group 15-19, 2,005 were married. Out of the total of 42,283 women who entered in the same year in the age group 20-29, 22,808 were married, 47 widowed, 220 divorced and 79 separated. Out of a total of 16,877 who entered in the age group 30-39, 16,807 were married, 114 were widowed, 341 divorced and 98 separated. As might be roughly predicted, out of a total of 1,376 women who entered in the age group 70 and over, 256 were married, 1,026 were widowed and only 17 divorced and 11 separated.

The immigration statistics also give us the age group, sex and distribution of immigrants by province. The following table (Table VI) shows the destination by province of all women immigrants, including children, who came to Canada in 1967.

TABLE VIDestination of Women Immigrants by Province 1967

<u>Total</u>	107,718
Ontario.....	57,070
Quebec.....	21,384
British Columbia.....	13,500
Manitoba.....	4,265
Saskatchewan.....	1,872
Alberta.....	7,319
Nova Scotia.....	1,057
New Brunswick.....	637
P.E.I.....	68
Newfoundland.....	479
N.W.T./Yukon.....	67

This follows the pattern for all immigrants. In 1967, Ontario received 52% of the total flow of immigrants, Quebec 20.5%, British Columbia 12.2%, the Prairie Provinces 12.6% and the Atlantic Provinces 2.1%.

A difficulty arises when we come to the intended occupations of immigrants which is shown in the statistics with intended destination and with country of former residence. These statistics are not divided into male and female immigrants. Thus even in the occupations in which women usually predominate, e.g. professional nurses and social workers, there are likely to be a small number of male immigrants.

It may be interesting, however, to note the 1967 figures for those occupations in which a great many women are normally employed.

TABLE VII

Admission Figures for Some Intended Occupations 1967

<u>Total Immigration</u>	222,876
School Teachers.....	5,388
Graduate Nurses.....	4,262
Therapists.....	317
Dieticians.....	76
Social Workers.....	333
Librarians.....	239
Bookkeepers.....	2,565
Stenographers.....	8,254
Domestic Servants.....	2,842
Nursing Aides.....	1,079
Food Workers.....	1,698
Textile Workers.....	538

This statistical picture is intended, in part, to show the great range and variety of women from many different countries, occupations and with different levels of education who have been emigrating to Canada in recent years. Not all of them stay in Canada for any length of time. In examining these figures we must allow for the ongoing movement of immigrants, mainly to the United States. The approximate size of this

movement is indicated in Chart I.¹

The Immigration Act and Regulations

Unlike United States immigration, Canadian immigration is largely managed through administrative procedures and not with the aid of a substantial body of immigration law. The relevant legislation and regulations consist of the following:- The Immigration Act. R.S.C., 1952, c. 325 as amended by 1966-7, cc. 25-90 and 1967-68, cc. 1, 37 and Immigration Regulations, Part I, made by P.C. 1962-86 as amended by P.C. 1966-527 and P.C. 1967-1616 and Immigration Inquiries Regulations made by SOR/67-621. The Immigration Appeal Board Act which was passed on March 1st, 1967, is an important piece of additional legislation relating to appeals from Orders of Deportation and appeals by some classes of sponsors whose applications to bring relatives from outside Canada have been refused.

It is not possible within the space of a short paper to go into the specific provisions of these Acts and Regulations beyond those of the 1967 Regulations which have already been described. It must suffice here to give the author's view that, to the best of her knowledge, there is no deliberate or unintended discrimination against women in the Immigration

1. This ^eimmigration curve is based upon the estimates of the Economic Council of Canada. It is an approximation only.

Act and Regulations. The discriminations of the past applied equally to men and women, except for some minor variations in which women often did better than men.¹ The present emphasis on skill makes things easier for the educated woman and more difficult for the uneducated woman. But it does the same for men.

The Immigration Act of 1952 was a poor piece of legislation which has been very difficult to administer. Among its other defects, the discretionary powers given under the Act to the Minister and his officials were far too wide. The long effort, starting in the early fifties, to rewrite the Act has never come to fruition, because of the political difficulties involved. But at the time of writing work has started again on a new Act which may stand a better chance of reaching the Statute Book. Some of the defects of the Act have been corrected in the recent Regulations and in the Immigration Appeal Board Act.

In addition to immigration law and regulations, however, it is most important to know how the regulations are carried out and whether women, educated and uneducated, are getting efficient and considerate service and good information in the overseas immigration offices. It is only possible to discover this by visiting these offices and observing their

1. E.g. Despite the restrictive policy which obtained before 1962, it was decided in 1965 to admit a limited number of women as domestic servants annually from the West Indies.

procedures, and by discussing this matter with members of the overseas staff of the Department of Manpower and Immigration and with immigrants. It is widely believed that the information given in the overseas offices is either insufficient or inaccurate; and a (probably small) percentage of immigrants do always claim that they were given inadequate information.

The following views are based on a careful study of the Foreign Branch of the Department of Manpower and Immigration which has been carried out during the last three years as part of a broader study of immigration management. This study has included visits to 14 visa offices in Europe and the United Kingdom and the regional headquarters in Geneva and London; and 71 interviews with members of the staff of the Foreign Branch, as well as interviews with senior officials in Ottawa. No visits were made to visa offices outside Europe and the United Kingdom but some of the staff who were interviewed had served in these posts or in teams working in the Middle East, Africa and the West Indies.

In the author's view, the overseas staff of the Department of Manpower and Immigration are a group of public servants who have, for a long time, done a very good job with considerable dedication and, often, inadequate facilities. However, from 1963 onwards, money for the Overseas Service has been much easier to get and in the last few years

there have been great improvements in offices and equipment. The worst of the offices are gone and a number of others have been redecorated and made more comfortable. The pay, privileges and working conditions of the Overseas Service has been much improved also. And there have been changes and improvements at headquarters. All this has meant improved management and better, swifter service for immigrants. The new 1967 Regulations and selection system are thought to be working very well, barring a few minor changes which may have to be made. It is fair to say that, barring human fallibility, immigrants, male and female, do get good and considerate service in the Canadian overseas offices. At times of heavy pressure and in areas where business is very brisk, they may not always get enough time for very thorough counselling. There may be a case for greater emphasis on special counselling for women, and greater efforts to reach the wives of would-be immigrants who do not speak English. But progress has been made in these areas recently.

Information materials in immigration have greatly improved in the last two or three years and the Department now has a Public Relations and Information Division in Ottawa with a professional staff. It is very difficult to achieve a very close correspondence between labour demand in Canada and the opportunities described to would-be immigrants overseas. The present system is a greatly improved one, but in

the opinion of its authors and managers in Ottawa it is still far from perfect. In the author's view however the information given to immigrants overseas is reasonably good and reasonably accurate. The area for concern in communication with immigrants is not overseas. It is in Canada where the information given to recently arrived immigrants is far from adequate.

Women Immigrants in the Community

There are some very difficult problems involved in discussing the status of women immigrants in Canada. How long does an immigrant remain an immigrant? It is certain that the acquisition of Canadian citizenship closes no door ^{to} the past, and may be no indication of degrees of adjustment or commitment to Canadian society. What kinds of status? No doubt this is a problem which is common to many papers for the Royal Commission. It seems sufficient here, however, to think of three kinds of status for women immigrants in a new land: political, economic and social status and to attempt only a few thoughts in these areas.

It is assumed here that immigrants remain immigrants for much longer than is usually supposed and that any woman who has come to Canada after the age of 25 (and earlier for some) will always have a double personality, however close her attachment to Canada may be. And with the strong economic and achievement drive which is characteristic of many

immigrants of all income groups, will go a persistent tendency to look at Canadian society as an outside observer. It is therefore congenial for many women to lead working lives which are Canadian and social lives which are not. But it is also assumed, however, that ethnic isolation is rarely voluntary and that Canadian society which is family-oriented, domestic and conservative is very hard to penetrate in more than a superficial way for all immigrants including the British. The best relationships between Canadians and newcomers are working relationships leading perhaps in the end to friendship. This is as true in Quebec as it is in Ontario.

In these circumstances therefore one must think of a society within a society. The immigrant society, although it has many sectors, has a certain unity and many common bonds in relation to Canada itself. For many women immigrants there are two kinds of status - a status in two societies. One is easier to achieve than the other: sometimes the two reinforce each other. In the larger society newcomers share the status problems of Canadian women. They do not surmount them - for example, get further ahead in politics - because they come from countries where these problems may be less severe. On the contrary, they operate with additional disadvantages and are likely to make less progress than the native-born. But just as Canadian women

can find a satisfying political and social status in women's organizations which have no reality in the outside world, so women immigrants can find it in their own groups and organizations.

The most interesting situation is when these two societies have need of each other. When the United Appeal appoints immigrants to its various committees; in fund raising; and in many community activities, Then a kind of temporary haven is created from the isolations of the normal world. But for the most part this haven is temporary or only encompasses a small slice of life.

The uncertainties of this situation, however, are shaken up and often pushed aside by the urgent demands of the Great Expansion in which Canada is still engaged since the take-off in 1961. In the words of the Economic Council: "Physical evidence of the tremendous expansionary forces at work in Canada since 1961 may be observed on all sides..... very enlarged numbers of those employed.....major expansion of consumer incomes and purchases.....greatly expanded services provided by governments.....mounting volume and widening range of Canadian exports.....growth of the productive capacity of business enterprises.....spectacular recent expansion of highways, roads, transit systems, universities, schools and other social capital facilities".¹

1. Economic Council of Canada, Fourth Annual Review: The Canadian Economy from the 1960s to the 1970s, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, September, 1967.

All this warms the heart of the immigrant, male or female. What does status matter? The future matters. Wasn't the decision to come to Canada absolutely right?

For immigrants, the economic world is easier to handle than the political and social. Many immigrants never grasp how the Canadian political system operates. No one has told them the basic principles of federalism and they cannot comprehend the intricate nature of federal-provincial relations. Neither can many Canadians, but this ignorance daunts them less. Contrary to popular belief, most ethnic groups are weak politically and cannot exercise effective pressure in a substantial way, if at all. Only the most enterprising of women immigrants can determinedly acquire the political know-how to seek office. And since Canadian women have so little luck at it, their chances are probably minimal.

Services for Immigrants

We should look now at the services which are provided specifically for immigrants by Canadian government and voluntary organizations, so that they may prosper for the benefit of all, integrate without disruption into Canadian society and acquire a reasonable position and standing in the community.

In this connection, it is important to remember that immigration has never been an area of primary interest and concern in Canadian politics. There are many reasons for

this, the most important being the difficulty of accommodating immigration in the pattern of French-English relationships, and Quebec's known hostility, until very recently, to a very active immigration program. Apart from this, with very few exceptions, immigration has never really caught the imagination of Canadian politicians in any party. The defects of the Immigration Act which involved the Minister in countless decisions on individual cases, made this portfolio an unattractive one. Until the Glassco reforms got underway in the early sixties and new concepts of management began to pervade the public service, Treasury Board handled immigration in a very parsimonious way.

Until the early sixties also, provincial interest was nil outside Ontario. In 1965, however, the Liberal Government in Quebec announced the creation of a Quebec Immigration Service and in 1968, legislation was introduced to create a Department of Immigration in Quebec. Recently also the Prairie Provinces, and particularly Manitoba, have become more active. Ontario has had her own immigration program since the end of the Second World War with its base, until recently, at Ontario House in London. The major emphasis of this program has been on the recruitment of professional and skilled immigrants.

As an outcome of the absence of keen political interest in immigration in Canada, immigration management has been

handled by the federal government without involving the provinces or the public in any significant way. While there has been a great deal of voluntary activity on behalf of immigrants, it is fair to say that there has been as yet no real public participation or involvement in the development and management of immigration in Canada. This is in striking contrast to the way in which immigration has been handled in Australia as an area of public policy. Immediately after war, a deliberate decision was taken by the Labour Government in Australia to develop an energetic immigration program in which the public, the major national organizations and the voluntary sector as a whole would be involved at every level. This was, of course, the outcome of Australia's wartime experience and the need that Australians then felt for an effective program of national defence and development. A small planning staff was set up within the Australian Department of Immigration in 1949. They worked out plans for a Commonwealth Immigration Planning Council, a Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council, the "Good Neighbour Movement", an Annual Citizenship Convention, States Committees and other activities. These plans were implemented quite quickly and the Councils and Committees and Good Neighbour Movement have been working very effectively ever since. The result has been that immigration in Australia has been a matter of national concern and interest and many

Australians are now involved in the immigration process and are very knowledgeable about it.

In Canada, using the Australian model, an Act to create a Canada Manpower and Immigration Council became law on December 21st, 1967, but has not yet been implemented. The Act created a Manpower and Immigration Council, 4 Advisory Boards and also gave the Minister power to create regional and local Manpower Committees. This may be the beginning of effective public participation in the immigration process in Canada.

The principal services now provided by the Federal Government for immigrants lie in the areas of (1) initial reception and counselling. (2) the employment services provided by the Department of Manpower and Immigration for all Canadians, including the ^{occupational} adult training and manpower mobility programs. (3) assistance and health care under the Canada Assistance Plan until the immigrant becomes established. (4) some general counselling and referral provided by the Canada Manpower Centres and immigration offices. (5) services provided by the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State and its ^{Field} ~~Liaison~~ Service in the areas of general citizenship education and development, and immigrant and ethnic participation and integration. Language training is provided by the Provincial Government in collaboration with the Federal Government, by school boards and voluntary organizations.

In the author's view the weak points in this chain of services, which are closely related to the nature and location of government responsibility in immigration, are as follows:-

(1) central planning for immigrants, mainly to facilitate their adjustment to Canadian society. (2) co-ordination of existing services, federal, provincial and voluntary. (3) education services for immigrants. (4) information, counselling and referral services for immigrants which are readily available and on a continuing basis. In relation to the co-ordination of services, it is worth quoting another extract from the 1966 White Paper on Canadian Immigration Policy:-

Once an immigrant has been settled in a home and placed in employment, he and his family still face the problem of social adjustment. Responsibility largely shifts to the community at large, to the provincial and municipal authorities, and to the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State Department. There are numerous public and private agencies interested, and active to varying degrees, in the problems of immigrants; but there has not been the co-ordinated activity to resolve these problems which present circumstances seem to demand. Nor possibly have sufficient resources been devoted to this purpose in the past. A major co-operative effort to deal with this aspect of immigration is needed.

It was the intention of the government to promote this co-ordinating activity, at least in part, through the consultative machinery of the Canada Manpower and Immigration Council Act.

In the past, the Federal and Provincial Governments have relied heavily on voluntary agencies, secular, religious and

ethnic to provide a whole range of additional services relating to the reception, welfare and adjustment of immigrants. Only limited funds have been provided to a very small number of voluntary agencies for this purpose. According to the most recent information of the Immigration Division of the Department of Manpower and Immigration, there are now some 337 voluntary agencies which provide some kind of service or assistance to immigrants. They fall into three major categories: (1) organizations serving all immigrants. (2) organizations serving ethnic groups only, and (3) organizations serving religious groups only. Among all these organizations, there is only a small group, drawn from all three categories, which are professional agencies~~x~~ with a small trained staff, secretarial assistants^{ce}, adequate premises and a reasonable income. The Federal Government is examining ways of increasing its financial support to a few of these agencies.

We should think of the many categories of women immigrants who need these and additional services. Women who need a job; women who need training and upgrading; women who need information about Canada and the Canadian community; the many women immigrants who do not speak English or who speak it poorly and who look after small children at home; the many women with little education and language problems whose children get out of reach and who need help in understanding

the Canadian environment; the increasing numbers of wives of immigrants from developing countries who need contacts and interests in the community and educational services suitable for their special needs; young West Indian girls in Toronto and Montreal who also need friends and contacts in the community and educational and recreational services; women in difficulties of all kinds, and with health and welfare problems, who need to be referred to the appropriate agencies.

Within the voluntary agencies concerned with immigration a very large number of Board Members and Volunteers are immigrants themselves. There is no question that Canadian immigrants help other immigrants - sometimes all immigrants, sometimes immigrants of a particular nationality or religious group. Do Canadian women help immigrant women in the difficult process of adjustment to Canadian life? In an effort to learn something about this the author recently conducted a small-scale inquiry into the concerns and activities in immigration of fifty selected women's organizations (including a number of branches) in Canada. The following is a brief report on the results of this investigation.

SURVEY REPORT

A questionnaire in English or French was sent to a total of 91 women's organizations including branches. The organizations were selected from the current Directory of National Women's Organizations in Canada compiled by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour. One new organization in

Quebec was added (La Fraternité Canadienne de Québec).

There were 50 replies. The questionnaire consisted of the following questions:-

1. Has the study of Canadian immigration or of the welfare and integration of Canadian immigrants formed part of the programme of your organization at any time during the last five years? If so, please describe these activities.
2. In what ways, if any, has your organization tried to give direct help to immigrants in: (a) their initial reception. (b) their integration into the Canadian community and/or knowledge of Canada. (c) their professions and occupations in Canada. (d) any special interests or needs which they may have?
3. Do recent immigrants turn to your organization spontaneously (a) for practical help in your particular field, or (b) to seek membership? (Please give details).
4. What special efforts, if any, does your organization make to recruit recent immigrants as members?
5. If Canadian immigration and welfare and integration of immigrants have not featured in any way in your programme so far, is this a subject in which your organization might take an interest at some future date?

Analysis

An analysis of the replies revealed the following results:-

1. Percentage of organizations engaged in continuous study of immigration through their normal programmes and standing machinery.....18%
2. Percentage of organizations which have undertaken some recent study in the field of immigration.....34%
3. Percentage of organizations which have provided services in:-
 - (a) reception only.....10%
 - (b) reception and integration..... 8%
 - (c) reception, integration and help re occupations and professions..... 4%
 - (d) assistance re occupations only..... 8%
 - (e) reception, integration and special needs...12%
 - (f) all categories.....18%
4. Percentage of organizations to which immigrants apply spontaneously for:
 - (a) help in their particular field.....10%
 - (b) membership.....24%
5. Percentage of organizations which actively recruit immigrants as members.....26%

Most of those organizations which have been inactive in the field indicated an interest for future study and program.

Comments

The number of replies (50 out of 91) was not very impressive but in view of the fact that all these organizations are voluntary and that this was an individual piece of research, this response was felt to be quite reasonable. The final sample included replies from most of the well-known national women's organizations in Canada. It was, however, a very small sample numerically and the above analysis can only be taken as a rough indication of what might be expected if a similar questionnaire were sent to a much larger number of national and local women's organizations. The following are some general comments on the replies as a whole.

Within this group of 50 national and branch organizations, the organizations most active in the field are:-

- (1) YWCA
- (2) IODE
- (3) Ukranian Women's Organization of Canada
- (4) Catholic Women's League of Canada
- (5) Manitoba Provincial Council of Women
- (6) Interfaith Immigration Council (linking various women's church groups)
- (7) Federated Women's Institutes
- (8) Baptist Women Missionary Society of Ontario and Quebec
- (9) La Fraternité Canadienne de Québec.

The efforts of these organizations are very impressive and varied, showing great powers of innovation and sustained interest.

The least active groups are:-

- (a) those based in the Maritimes, reflecting the low level of immigration in that area;
- (b) professional groups (other than nurses and physicians) who would have no special interest in immigrants as such;
- (c) political associations which, though interested in immigration problems, would not become involved, except as members of a local council of women, in direct social action of this kind.

The activities of rurally based organizations are undertaken in general in a less organized fashion than those of other groups. Assistance to immigrants is given through informal contacts. This would apply especially to the rural branches of the provincial councils of women and Women's Institutes.

Professional associations, such as those of the nurses and physicians, present rather a special case. While they do not have formal programs with regard to immigrants, a large part of their effort, it seems, is devoted to assisting qualified immigrants in the matter of job-finding and to supplying information regarding professional standards obtaining in Canada. In addition, the nurses' associations

in most provinces are responsible for licensing and registration, so that membership is mandatory. These groups are quite energetic in their attempts to integrate qualified immigrants into the profession. Because membership is usually a prerequisite for practising, most nurses' groups replied to the question regarding spontaneous application, that most immigrants would apply spontaneously for membership, (accounting for 9 out of the 12 that reported this). In addition, most of the nurses' associations interpreted the question re recruitment effort to mean recruitment from abroad. On this question they have recently adopted a policy refraining from active recruitment of nurses in foreign countries, owing apparently to an ample supply in Canada and to fears of a depletion of nursing talent in underdeveloped countries.

In general, it is interesting to note that less than a fifth of these organizations have a continuing interest in immigration and only one-third have studied it fairly recently. A quarter of them do make efforts to recruit newcomers as members. Apart from the nine organizations which make special efforts in this field, there appeared to be a good deal of interest which was benevolent but unfocused and which was not co-ordinated with or related to the interests and concerns of other groups. On the whole, however, it was felt that, apart from the organizations which have been mentioned, there was only a limited amount of real concern.

Conclusion

Women immigrants in Canada inevitably share the status problems of the native born. They also have additional handicaps of various kinds in varying degrees of severity. These include the use of English or French as a second language and the length of time required to become sufficiently familiar with Canadian political and social institutions to be able to contribute to community development or to such issues as the rights and status of women. Many women immigrants begin to contribute to community development through helping other immigrants or through the Home and School Associations or through ^women's organizations. But many stay rooted always in their own ethnic community.

A small number of women, however, of all nationalities and at all but the lowest levels of educational attainment, are not dismayed by these problems (or are unaware that they exist); and for them Canada offers a remarkable freedom for social action and community development of all kinds. There is a widely held belief, however, that most immigrants, male and female, are creative, aggressive, energetic individuals, breathing new life and vigour into Canadian culture, brushing aside the conventions and conservatism of social relations in Canada. And that they are likely to be vigorous agents of change in many aspects of Canadian life. The influx of three million people in the post-war period, a significant

proportion of whom have valuable skills and talents, inevitably makes a powerful impact on the host society. There is no doubt that they are instrumental in promoting development of all kinds and in broadening the range of economic and social activities in Canada. But the structure of social relations changes slowly. And in many respects the major bastions of Canadian life are unaffected.

In the author's view, women immigrants are unlikely to make dramatic changes in the status of women in Canada. Rather we have to think of raising the status of many women immigrants to more acceptable levels. We have to think of ways in which the adjustment of many women immigrants to Canadian life can take place with greater speed and ease. We have to be particularly vigilant that women immigrants with little education are not exploited in employment, particularly within their own communities. In the light of present Immigration policy and the new Immigration Regulations, we must now make real efforts to help women immigrants from developing countries both at home and in employment. The real contribution which women immigrants can make to Canadian life can only be fully effective when they know enough about the Canadian political system and social structure to move freely within it. The following recommendations are made in the light of these views. They are directed to the improvement of existing

services for all immigrants in Canada and consist of major recommendations only.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Steps should be taken to establish much closer and regular federal-provincial consultation in immigration.
2. There should be a careful re-examination of the present responsibilities in relation to immigration of the Manpower and Immigration Divisions of the Department of Manpower and Immigration and the Immigrant and Ethnic Participation Division of the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State, to determine whether the present location of responsibility is the best arrangement to promote the settlement and adjustment of immigrants.
3. Action should be taken to implement the Canada Manpower and Immigration Council Act as soon as possible. The title of the Regional Manpower Committees proposed under the Act should be changed to Regional Manpower and Immigration Committees, and these Committees should be set up in all provinces.
4. A major study and action program should be initiated by the Department of Manpower and Immigration to attempt to achieve the better co-ordination of services for immigrants referred to in the 1966 White Paper.

5. If a major responsibility for immigrant integration remains with the Citizenship Branch, this Branch should be given much more substantial funds to develop its field service and increase the size of its staff.
6. More financial assistance should be given to voluntary agencies who are providing useful services for immigrants. These agencies should include the religious and ethnic agencies as well as the non-sectarian agencies.
7. A major collaborative effort should be made by federal, provincial and municipal governments and voluntary agencies in the field of information and referral services for immigrants. Citizens Advice Centres and Telephone Information Services, (similar to the service now provided for all citizens by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto) should be established in the major cities with large immigrant populations. Thought should be given to the development of a National Information and Referral Service provided by the Department of Manpower and Immigration through which information and referral services would be available by telephone or other means to immigrants everywhere.
8. Through the National Manpower and Immigration Council and its Advisory Boards, studies should begin as soon as possible on ways to facilitate the mutual adjustments involved in the admission of much larger numbers of immigrants from the developing countries.

